

近世イギリスにおける孔子関係史料

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本稿は、近世イギリスにおける孔子関係史料を提供するものである。その史料収集は、次のような方法でおこなった。

- 1 史料一覧表には、1598年から1800年までに出版した刊行物を収める。
- 2 史料は、英語（翻訳を含む）で書かれた刊行物から収集した。
- 3 原則的にイギリス国内で刊行された記録に限定したが、インドで刊行されたものを例外的に含む。
- 4 原則的に初版を利用した。
- 5 カタログ類の孔子関係史料は除外した。

イギリスにおける孔子受容の歴史、つまり、どのように受け入れられたのか、あるいは受け入れられなかったのかという研究は、かなり詳細になされてきたが、まだ十分と言えるものではない。多くの研究は、断片的な史料に基づいている。宗教の分野だけでなく、文学の分野でも孔子の影響は見られるが、数少ない同じ史料を利用しているため、同じような論の展開が見られ、同じような主張となっていることは否めない。研究の質的向上を図るには、できるだけ多くの史料を

収集することであると考え。私の調査では、1800年までに刊行された英文の中国関係史料は20,000点を超え、そのなかに孔子関係史料は、約1200点存在する。

近世イギリスにおける孔子受容に関する研究によると、18世紀中葉までは、孔子は、宗教家として、また哲学者として尊敬されたが、後半になると、次第にイギリス人にとってその魅力を失っていったという説が、支配的である。このような説を唱える研究として、William W. Appletonの*A Cycle of Cathay* (New York, 1979)、Raymond Dawsonの*The Chinese Chameleon* (Oxford University Press, 1967)などを挙げることができる。また、中国全体に関しても、全く根拠のない仮説がたてられている場合もある。例えば、浅田實著『イギリス東インド会社とインド成り金』は、「一八世紀末のイギリス人は、アジアについての新しい評価を与えられることになった。アジアは奇妙でエキゾチックな世界というのは、詩とかパントマイムの世界に遠く後退していった。」(213頁)と述べているが、このような見方を証明する史料の提供がなされていない。また、アダム・スミスの『諸国民の富』やマルサスの『人口論』を引用し、「アダム・スミスにとって、中国は萎縮した、長く停滞したままの商業社会でしかなかった。」(214頁)であると述べ、『人口論』で有名な

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マルサスにとっても、中国というのは、もっともみじめな貧困の状態にある例であった。」と断定的に述べている。しかし、痛烈な中国批判が行われたのは、1720年に刊行された Daniel Defoe の『ロビンソン・クルーソー第3部』までさかのぼることができる。中国文明の最大の欠点は、進歩がないことであると考え、この点であまり評価しない国であるという見方は、17世紀に Sir William Temple と新旧論争を展開した William Wotton の *Reflections on ancient and modern learning* などに見ることができる。

このように、アダム・スミスやマルサス二人だけの中国観がイギリス人全体の見方であったとすることは、非常にミスリーディングな解釈であると言わざるを得ない。なぜなら、18世紀後半になっても中国賛美が姿を消したわけではないからである。また、かなり厳しい中国批判があったことは事実であるが、それは、中国からの影響があまりにも強いためになされたものであったからである。徹底的に史料の収集をおこなわず、アームチェアスペキュレーションにひたるいわゆる評論家的な見方であるといわざるを得ない。

孔子に関しても同様である。デフォーは、孔子を徹底的に排除したが、ギリシャやローマの思想家ならいざしらず、たかがアジアの一人の思想家にすぎない孔子に対して、周囲の多くの人間が Sinophile 的な反応を示していることに恐れおののき、強い危機感を感じ、本気で向かい合い、反撃したというのが実情である。キリストやソクラテスと同一視された孔子がイギリス人にあたえた衝撃は、それほど大きかったと言える。

孔子の存在が本格的にイギリスで紹介されたのは、1691年であった。サー・ウィリアム・テンプルが、いわゆる古代派近代派論争のきっかけとなった *Of Heroic Virtue* (1690) を発表し、古代が近代に勝るという立場にたち、キリスト教国ではないが長い文明を誇る中国は、古代が近代に勝る好例であるとし、孔子についても「偉大な」という表現を用いている。これに対して、近代派を自認したウォトンは反論し、孔子に関して、厳しい言葉を残している。

この論争はある意味で象徴的であった。王立協会が1660年に発足し、科学の進歩を重要な課題として取

り組み始めていたイギリスでは、何ごとも「進歩」しなければならないという思考方法へと切り替わりつつあった。文明も進歩しなければならないと考えた思想家にとっては、古く、進歩がみられない中国は容認できない国であった。しかし、実際には17世紀—18世紀には中国賛美の声は大きく、テンプル卿のような中国を擁護し、その優れた文明を高く評価する勢いは衰えていなかったと言える。では、なぜこのような現象が起こったのであろうか。恐らくイギリス人はギリシャ、ローマにとってかわるものを必要としていたのであろう。古代を否定することは、ギリシャ、ローマを認めないことであり、この二つの文明に勝るものを模索していたのである。近代派にとっては、ギリシャ、ローマにとってかわるのは西洋でなければならなかったが、古代派は、それは中国であると主張したのである。これは容認できないことであった。そうしたときに、*The Morals of Confucius* の英訳が1691年に刊行され、続いて1697年にイエズス会宣教師ル・コント (Le Comte) が著した中国を扱った *Memoirs* が出版され、1704年には中国を大々的に紹介するチャーチルの『航海集』がでたのである。経験 (experience) を最終的な判断の尺度とする考え方が主流となっていたイギリスでは、実際に中国に渡り、そこで宣教していた宣教師たちが伝える中国の姿は、まさにその「経験」に他ならず、そこから「学ぶ」ことが要求されたのである。近代派の弱みは、実際に中国を訪れたことがないことであった。デフォーの激しい中国批判もあり賛同を得られなかったのは、彼が中国へ行き、自分の目で観察したことがないことで、これが彼の致命的な弱点で、主張に説得力が欠ける原因であった。まさに「経験から学ばない」人間の発言であった。更に、思想や宗教だけではなく、茶や磁器が輸入され始め、イギリス人はこれらの産物に魅惑されたのである。近代派の抵抗にもかかわらず、イギリスでは「シノワズリ」という言葉が表している中国ブームを迎えることになった。

アジアの思想家である孔子が、イギリスで受け入れられたことは、非常に注目すべきことであろう。主に、宗教家ではなく、哲学者としての扱いを受けた。キリストと比較されたこともあったが、概ね philoso-

pher であると認められたのである。約 1,200 点の史料が伝える孔子像は様々であるが、一つだけ明らかなことは、モラリストとしての孔子がイギリス人に与えた影響は相当なものであったということである。その影響がどのようなものであったかの詳細な分析と考察は今後の課題であろう。孔子に対する敬愛とも言える気持ちが最も顕著な形で表現されているのが、ゴールドスミスの『世界市民』(1762)である。これは、ロンドンに在住している中国の哲人がイギリスを冷徹な目で観察する形式で書かれており、孔子の言葉が幾つか引用されている。この作品は、イギリス人の孔子観を象徴しているとみてよいであろう。また、1796 年に出版されたギボンの回想録には、孔子にたいする深い敬意が依然として感じられることを指摘しておきたい。

本稿では、まず、近世における孔子関係史料から原文を一部抜粋し、この哲人の人物と著作に関する様々な意見や評価を検討する手がかりとなる材料を提供した。これによって、一部の研究者がイギリスでは中国や孔子に対して 18 世紀後半には厳しい見方が優勢であったと考えていることが、必ずしも正確ではないことが理解できる。次に、イギリスで刊行された孔子関係の著作のチェックリストを作成した。

孔子に関する記録

16 世紀

1598 年 Hakluyt, Richard (1552?-1616) *The principal navigations, voyages, traffiqvs and discoveries of the English nation*, 3 vols., London. イギリスで刊行された英語文献の中で、初めて孔子に言及したのはリチャード・ハクルートであると考えられる。ハクルートは、1597 年にマカオでラテン語で書かれた記録を翻訳したと述べている。

An excellent treatise of the kingdome of China, and of the estate and government thereof: Printed in Latine at Macao a citie of the Portugals in China, An. Dom. 1590. and written Dialogue-wise. The speakers arre Linus, Leo, and Michael.

And among these sects there are three more famous then

the rest: the first is of them that professe the doctrine of one Confucius a notable philosopher. This man (as it is reported in the history of his life) was one of most upright and incorrupt maners, whereof he wrote sundry treatises very pithily and largely, which above all other books, are seriously read and perused by the Chinians. (II.ii.97)

17 世紀

1625 年 Purchas, Samuel (1577?-1625), *Purchas his pilgrimes*, 5 vols., London. これはイギリスで最初に刊行された大航海記集である。

A discourse of China

Of all the noblest Sciences they are best skilled in morall Philosophie (naturall, they have rather obscured) and being ignorant of Logicke, they deliver those Ethicke precepts in confused sentences and discourses without order by meere naturall wit. Their greatest Philosopher is called Confutius, whom I finde to have beene borne 551. yeeres before the coming of Christ, and to have lived above 70. yeeres, by example as well as precept exciting to vertue, accounted a very holy man. And if wee marke his sayings and doings, wee must confesse few of our Ethnicke Philosophers before him, and many behinde. But with the Chinois, his word is authoritie, and no speech of his is called in question; the Learned, yea the Kings also, ever since worshipping him, not as a God, but as a Man; and his posteritie are much esteemed, the head of that familie inheriting by grant of Kings a title of great honour, with immunities and revenues answerable. (III. ii.384)

1669 年 Webb, John (1611-1672), *An historical essay endeavoring a probability that the language of the empire of China is the primitive language*, London. これは中国語がエジプトの象形文字と関係があるとする。

They were not without some knowledge of CHRIST, as the Books written by their Philosopher *Confutius*, stiled the Plato of the *Chinois* is manifest; he being an Author

of as sublime and profound Authority with them, as either *Plato* or *Aristotle* with us.... (88)

1671年のMontanus, Arnoldus (1625?-1683), *Atlas Chinensis*, London. モンタヌスは *Atlas Japannensis* (1670) などを編纂したとされるオランダ人。

This *Confut* (according to *Semedo's* testimony) a Man of a good Inclination, Careful, Politick, a great lover of Vertue and of the publick Good. He is at this day amongst the Philosophers call'd by the Sir-name of *Great-est of all*, and accounted Master and Teacher to the whole Empire; and the Books which he hath written, and Words which he spake, are look'd upon as Oracles. How highly he was esteem'd, and how great a respect they bare to his Books, appears in this, that they believe it the greatest wickedness to doubt or alter any thing that he hath written. They reckon him the most accomplish'd of all Philosophers; nay, all Arguments of those that Dispute against his Doctrine, are convinced by these words, *viz.* Ipse dixit, *He said them himself.* (556)

1690年 Temple, William, Sir (1628-1699), *Miscellanea the second part. In four essays. I. Upon ancient and modern learning*, London. 古代派と近代派の論争に火をつけたものである。この論争は、古代と近代のどちらが優れているかを争ったもので、テンブルは古代派を擁護する立場をとった。彼は、中国は長い歴史を誇る古代の代表的な国であると考えた。

That there were many Volumes, written of old in Natural Philosophy among them: That near the Age of *Socrates*, lived their Great and Renowned *Confutius*, who began the same Design, of reclaiming men, from the useless and endless Speculations of Nature, to those of Morality.

1691年 *The morals of Confucius*. これは、*La Morale de Confucius* (Amsterdam, 1688) の英訳。孔子の思想、著書などを大きく扱っている。

Confucius, throughout his Doctrine, had no other intent than to dissipate the Mists of the Mind, to extirpate

Vice, and re-establish that Integrity which he affirm'd to have been a Present from Heaven. And the more easily to attain this end, he exhorted all those that heard his Instruction, to obey Heaven, to fear and serve it, to love his Neighbour as himself, to conquer and submit his Passions unto Reason, to do nothing, say nothing, nor think nothing contrary to it. And what was more remarkable, he recommended nothing to others, either in Writing or by word of Mouth, which he did not first practise himself. His Disciples also had for him a Veneration so extraordinary, that they sometimes made no scruple to pay him those Honors, which were us'd to be render'd to those only that sat upon the Throne.... (21-2)

1694年 Wotton, William (1666-1727), *Reflections upon ancient and modern learning*, London. ウォットンは反テンブルの立場をとり、古代派を擁護するテンブルに対して反論した。彼は古代人は、進歩の概念が欠如していたと、そしてこの progress の概念こそが最も重要であると考えたのである。当然、中国は古い歴史、文明を誇るが、進歩が見られない停滞した国であると見做された。

Sir William Temple knows very well, That the whole *Chinese* History depends upon the sole Authority of *Martinius*, and those Missionaries who published *Confucius* lately at *Paris*. *Martinius* (z) tells his Reader that he was obliged to learn Sixty Thousand independent Characters before he could read the *Chinese* Authors with Ease. This is, without all doubt, an excellent Method to propagate Learning, when Eight, or Ten of the best Years of a Man's Life must be spent in learning to read. The most considerable Specimen of *Chinese* Learning that we have, is in the Writings of *Confucius*; which if F. Couplet and his Companions had Printed under their own Names, Sir William Temple would have been one of the first (a) that would have called those Rules and Instructions discoursed of with great Compass of Knowledge, Excellence of Sense, Reach of Wit, illustrated with Elegance of Stile, and Aptness of Similitudes and Examples, an incoherent Rhapsody of moral Sayings, which good Sense

and tolerable Experience might have furnished any Man with. (144-5)

1697 年 Le Comte, Louis (1655-1728), *Memoirs and observations*, London. ル・コントはイエズス会宣教師。この著作はイギリスでかなり流布した。

Confucius being perswaded that the People would never be happy, so long as Interest, Ambition, and false Policy should reign in all these Petty Courts; resolved to preach up a severe Morality, to prevail upon Men to condemn Riches and worldly Pleasures, and esteem Temperance, Justice, and other Vertues; to inspire them with Grandeur and Magnanimity proof against all Humane Respects, a Sincerity incapable of the least disguise, even in respect of the greatest Princes; in fine, a kind of Life that should oppose the Passions, and should intirely cultivate Reason and Vertue. (201-2)

18 世紀

1704 年 Churchill, Awnsham, *A collection of voyages and travels*, 4 vols., London. これは、まさに航海記という名前にふさわしい大航海記集である。第 1 巻に中国関係の記録が収められており、次のような孔子に関する記述がある。

Kung Fu Zu, whom in our Parts we vulgarly call *Confucius*, is the greatest Oracle in *China*, and more celebrated and applauded there, than *S. Paul* is in the Church. In order to give some account of him, I will here set down the principal Passages of a Book there is in that Nation, intituled, *A Description of the Wonders and Miracles of Confucius*. The Book is full of Cuts, with the Exposition and Account of every one of them. *F. Trigaucius*, lib. I. cap. 5. assigns the Birth of this Man to be 551 Years before the Incarnation of the son of God. Others of his Society, whose Opinion I follow, affirm, that he was 645 Years before the coming of our Redeemer. (I. 123)

1705 年 Pufendorf, Samuel, Freiherr von (1632-1694), *An introduction to the history of the kingdoms and states*

of Asia, Africa and America, London. 孔子は高く評価されている。

Having done with the Imperial Race of Cheva, it will be proper, before we go any further, to say somewhat here of the Famous *Chinese* Philosopher *Confutius* or *Cungfucius*, who was also Legislator of these People: There are few or no Cities at this Day where there is not a Pallace and a stately Colledge dedicated to him, with these Incriptions in Gold Characters, *To the Great Master: To the Great King of Knowledge: to the Saint: To the Wise*, &c. (239-240)

1711 年 Addison, Joseph (1672-1719), *The spectator*, no. 68 (Friday, May 18) これはイギリスの定期刊行物の中で最も有名なものである。

Among the several fine things which have been spoken of it, I shall beg Leave to quote some out of a very ancient Author, whose Book would be regarded by our Modern Wits as one of the most shining Tracts of Morality that is extant, if it appeared under the Name of a *Confucius*, or of any celebrated *Grecian* Philosopher: I mean the little Apocryphal Treatise entitled, *The Wisdom of the Son of Sirach*. (1714, Vol. II. 387)

1719 年 Gildon, Charles (1665-1724), *The life and strange surprising adventures of Mr. D.....De F... of London, Hosier*, London. これは Defoe に対する反論を意図した作品で、中国を擁護している。

What sort of Christians they make, is evident from that great Noise and Stir, which has been made some years before the Congregation *De Propaganda Fide* in Rome itself; where it has been prov'd, even by Roman Catholicks, that the Jesuit Missionaries in *China* have onlyh incorporated the Heathen Religion of that Place into that which the Romish Church professes; and that they have admitted *Confucius* into the Kalendar among the Saints, to be pray'd to, as well as *St Peter* and *St Paul*, and the *Virgin Mary*. (33)

1720 年 Defoe, Daniel (1661-1731), *Serious reflections*

during the life and surprising adventures of Robinson Crusoe, London. デフォーは徹底的に中国を攻撃した。

As to their Religion, 'tis all summ'd up in *Confucius* his Maxims, whose Theology, I take to be a Rhapsody of Moral Conclusions; a Foundation, or what we may call Elements of Polity, Morality and Superstition, huddl'd together in a Rhapsody of Words, without Consistency, and indeed with very little Reasoning in it: Then 'tis really not so much as a refin'd Paganism.... (133)

1724 年 Burnet, Gilbert (1643–1715), *An abridgment of Bishop Burnet's history of his own times*, London. ギルバートはスコットランドの宗教家で、歴史家。

He (Sir William Temple) had a true Judgement in Affairs, and very good Principles with relation to Government; but in what related to Religion, he was very corrupt himself, and endeavoured to infect all that came near him. He was a great admirer of the Sect of *Confucius* in *China*, who were Atheists themselves, but left Religion to the Rabble. (197)

1727 年 Kempfer, Engelbeert (1651–1716), *The history of Japan*, 2 vols, London. この著書は、ケンペルが 1690 年に日本を訪れた際の体験に基づいている。日本に関する最も詳細な記録である。

It is no wonder then, that the chimerical, and in several particulars incomprehensible doctrine of *Roosi* was not able to stand its ground against the reasonable and pleasing moral of *Confutius*, but was, as it were, smother'd in its Infancy, and insensibly decreased, in proportion as the adherents of *Confutius* increas'd, of whom there was a concourse from all parts of the Empire almost beyond imagination. He died in the seventy third year of his age, leaving behind him many able Men, who propagated his Doctrine and Philosophy, not only by their teaching it to others, but gather'd all his wise Sentences and moral Maxims, which he communicated to them in his Life-time, into a Book, which is call'd *Siudo*, that is, the *Philosophical way of Life*, or the *way of Life agreeable to Philosophy*, which ever since, for now upwards of two

thousand years hath been look'd upon as a performance incimparable in its kind, and an excellent Pattern of a good and virtuous Life; a Book extoll'd not only by the admirers of *Confutius*, but admir'd for its Morals and political Maxims, even by the adherents of the *Budsdo* and other Religions, in the very same manner, as the Writings of the ancient Greek and Roman Philosophers, which have escap'd the common shipwreck of time, deservedly stand the admiration of all Europe, and a lasting Monument of the excellent Genius of their great Authors. (247)

1730 年 Tindal, Matthew (1653?–1733), *Christianity as old as the creation*, London. ティンダルは理神論を提唱した。この中で、孔子を擁護している。

I am so far from thinking the Maxims of *Confucius*, and Jesus Christ to differ; that I think the plain and simple Maxims of the former, will help to illustrate the more obscure Ones of the latter, accomodated to the then Way of speaking. (342)

1733 年 Picart, Bernard (1673–1733), *The ceremonies and religious customs of the idolatrous nations; together with historical ... discourses*, London. 宣教師報告などに基づいている記録。日本関係は、ケンペルの『日本誌』に負っている。

CONFUCIUS was seventy three Years old before he died, but spent the latter Part of his Days in Sorrow and Affliction, being mortified with Respecting on the reigning Vices of the Age. A little before his last Sickness discoursing on the Doctrine which he had endeavoured to established, he said, *the Mountain is fallen; a lofty Machiue has been demolish'd*. A few Days before his Death he thus addressed himself to his Pupils: *Since our Kings no longer regard my Precepts, I am now useless to the World, and therefore 'tis high Time for me to go hence and be no more*. (IV. 201)

The Works of *Confucius* carry such Weight and Authority along with them, that it would be look'd upon as

an enormous Crime, to make any Additions or Amendments to them, or to distrust and controvert the Truth of his Doctrine. He is always look'd upon as an infallible Doctor, and the supreme Master of all Arts and Sciences. (IV. 202)

1736 年 Du Halde, Jean-Baptiste (1674-1743), *The general history of China*, 4 vols, London. これは、宣教師報告を纏めたもの。Du Halde 自身は、中国を訪れたことは無い。

The TA HIO, or The School of Adults. The first Classical or Canonical Book of *Confucius*.

CONFUCIUS is the Author of this Work, and *Tseng seë* his Disciple is the Commentator: It is this that Beginners ought to study first, because it is, as it were, the Porch of the Temple of Wisdom and Virtue: It treats of the Care we ought to take in governing ones self, that we may be able afterwards to govern others, and of Perseverance in the chief Good, which according to him is but a Conformity of our Actions to right Reason: The Author calls his Book *Ta hio*, or the grand Science, because it was principally designed for Princes and Grandees, who ought to learn to govern their People wisely.

The whole Science of Princes and the Grandees of a Kingdom, says *Confucius*, consists in cultivating and perfecting the reasonable Nature they have received from *Tien*, and in restoring that Light and primitive Clearness of Judgment, which has been weakened or obscured by various Passions, that it may be afterwards in a Condition of labouring to perfect others. To succeed then we should begin at our selves, and to this End it is necessary to have an insight into the Nature of Things.... (III. 302)

1741 年 D' Argens, Marquis (1704-1771), *Chinese letters*, London. これは、フランス語からの翻訳。Goldsmith の *The citizen of the world* の種本ともいえるもの。

What Respect have we not for the Memory of *Confucius*? Tho' he has been so many Ages *inter mortuos*, his

Glory has suffered no Diminution; the whole Empire, even at this Day reverence him as much as when he was living. He had then, tho' he was not a King, as much Power as a Sovereign; and tho' he did not govern *China* by the Scepter, he conducted and regulated it by his Laws and Counsel; by his Instruction of Princes he made the People happy, and by rendering the Subjects virtuous he establish'd the Throne of the Kings.

The Obligation which the *Chinese* have to this great Man, and the Respect which the Emperors pay to his Memory, have entailed hereditary Nobility on his Family for ever, a Privilege which no other enjoys; nor is the Gratitude of the Nation and its Sovereigns confined to these Marks of Respect and Esteem; for they have erected a stately Tomb for this Philosopher on the Banks of the River *Su* in the very Place where he assembled his Disciples, and where in instructed them. (271)

1743 年 *Travels of the Jesuits, into various parts of the world*, 2 vols., London. これは、文字通りイエズス会士の報告書に基づいている。

With regard to the Honours which the *Chineze* pay *Confucius*, and the dead, the *Chineze Jews*, who seem to be as adverse to Idolatry as those of *Europe*, must be firmly persuaded that they are Ceremonies merely civil and political: For it they imagined them ever so little superstitious, they certainly would not go into the Hall of *Confucius*, with the rest of the Disciples of that Philosopher, to take Degrees; nor would they burn Incense in Honour of their Ancestors. (II. 29)

1744 年 Boyle, Robert (1627-1691), *The works of the Honourable Robert Boyle*, 5 vols., London. ボイルは有名な自然科学者。

Letter to Robert Boyle from Thomas Hyde

Publick Library, *Oxon*, July 26, 1687. Sir, THE bearer hereof, the Chinese, hath been with us at *Oxford*, to make a catalogue of our Chinese books, and to inform us about the subjects of them. We have some of *Confucius*'s books; but most of what we have is physick. He

is extremely well versed in his own language, having studied it many years, and also *Confucius's* philosophy, which he doth not praise. (V.591)

1750 年 Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat, Baron de (1689–1755), *The spirit of laws*, 2 vols., London. 必ずしも孔子批判をしていると判断できない意見である。

The religion of Confucius disowns the immortality of the soul, and the sect of Zeno did not believe it. These two sects have drawn from their bad principles consequences, not just indeed, but the most admirable as to their influence on society. (II. 162)

1754 年 *The monthly review, or, literary journal by several hands*, vol. x, London. この *Review* は、イギリスで刊行された色々な著作の抜粋を転載している。この号では、Voltaire の ‘The general history and state of Europe, from the time of Charlemain to Charles V. With a preliminary view of the oriental empires. Written originally in French by M. de Voltaire.’ について論評している。

Confutsee, whom we call *Confucius*, and who flourished 2300 years ago, a little before *Pythagoras*, was the founder of this religion, which consists in being just and beneficent. He taught and pratised it, both in a state of grandeur and in obscurity; one while first minister to a king, who was tributary to the emperor, then an exile, and reduced to extreme poverty. In his lifetime he had five thousand disciples; and, after his death, his doctrine was embraced by the emperors; the colaos, that is, the mandarins; the men of literature, that is, the gentlemen of the long robe; and in fine, by all but the common people. His family is still existing, and in a country where there is no other title of nobility, but that derived from actual services done their country. It is distinguished from all other families in memory of its founder. In regard to himself, he has no divine honours paid him, these being due to the Deity alone; but he has such as a man deserves who has given the purest ideas that human nature, unassisted by revelation, can form of the supreme Being.

(203)

1759 年 Murphy, Arthur (1727–1805) の *The orphan of China*, Dublin. これは中国の作品に基づいているが、内容は相当手が加えられている。中国に関する戯曲として有名である。ギリシャ、ローマの影響が衰え、中国に関心が移っていることを主張している。

PROLOGUE. By WILLIAM WHITEHEAD, Esq; POET-LAUREAT. Spoken by Mr. HOLLAND.

*ENOUGH of Greece and Rome. Th' exhausted store
Of either nation now can charm no more:
Ev'n adventitious helps in vain we try,
Our triumphs languish in the public eye;
And grave processions, musically stow,
Here pass unheeded, —as a Lord Mayor's shew.
On eagle wings the poet of to-night
Soars for fresh virtues to the source of light,
To China's eastern realms: and boldly bears
Confucius' morals to Britannica's ears.*

1761 年 Voltaire, François Marie Arouet (1694–1778), *The works of M. de Voltaire*, London. これはスモレットらがフランス語から英訳したもの。

Ancient and Modern History. Of the Religion of CHINA

CONFUTSEE, by us called Confucius, who flourished two thousand three hundred years ago, a little before the time of Pythagoras, established that religion which is founded upon virtue. He taught and practised it, both in his elevation and humiliation; sometimes prime-minister to a king that was tributary to the emperor: sometimes an exile, fugitive, and indigent. During his life, he had five thousand disciples; and after his death his doctrine was embraced by the emperors, the coloa, that is, the mandarins, the men of letters, and all but the lower class of people. (I, 25)

1762 年 *Miscellaneous pieces relating to the Chinese*, 2 vols., London. 18 世紀中葉の中国ブームを引き起こした著作の一つ。

Ricci most diligently observed the principal of these

directions, and by their means invited and drew many persons of all ranks in *China* into the church he had founded. He lived, wrote, converted, and dressed like a *Chinese* philosopher and scholar. He learning and other merit recommended him to the persons in power. He reconciled the ancient religion of the country, in some measure, to the first principles of theology, and united the maxims of the great *Confucius* with the words of life by delivered *Jesus Christ*. (II. 18)

1762 年 Goldsmith, Oliver (1728–1774), *The citizen of the world; or letters from a Chinese philosopher*, 2 vols., London. Public Ledger に 1760–1 年に連載したもの。中国関係では、最も重要な書簡形式の作品である。Letter XLVI

I know but of two sects of philosophers in the world that have endeavoured to inculcate that fortitude is but an imaginary virtue; I mean the followers of Confucius, and those who profess the doctrines of Christ. All other sects teach pride under misfortunes; they alone teach humility. Night, says our Chinese philosopher, not more surely follows day, than groans and tears grow out of pain; when misfortunes, therefore oppress, when tyrants threaten, it is our interest, it is our duty, to fly even to dissipation for support, to seek redress from friendship, to seek redress from that best of friends who loved us into being. (II. 203)

1764 年 Guthrie, William (1708–1770), *A general history of the world, from the creation to the present time*, 12 vols., London. ガスリーは地誌関係の著作が多い。

Upon this occasion, some of the *Kin* generals gave noble proofs, that they well understood, and could practise, the doctrine of their great legislator *Confucius*. (330)

But, about this time, *Kuchu*, who was tenderly loved by his father, died. *Yelu*, however, did not fail to represent the glory that would attend *Oktay*, if, master as he was of the birth-place of the great *Confucius*, he would cause the halls and monuments there, dedicated to that great

man, to be repaired, which was accordingly done.... (VII. 337)

1765 年 Mosheim, Johann Lorenz (1694–1755), *An ecclesiastical history, antient and modern, from the birth of Christ to the beginning of the present century*, 2 vols., London. Mosheim は、ドイツの著名な歴史家。

The public honours paid to CONFUCIUS twice a year, used to be performed before his statue, erected in the great hall or temple, that is dedicated to his memory. At present they are performed before a kind of *Tablet*, placed in the most conspicuous part of the edifice, with the following inscription: *The Throne of the Soul of the most Holy, and the most excellent Chief-teacher Con Fucius*. (II.299)

1769 年 Smollett, Tobias George (1721–1771) *The present state of all nations*, 8 vols., London. スモレットは、『アトム冒険』(1769)を著したスコットランド出身の文人、医者。ピカレスク小説の代表的な作家であった。

The second is the sect of the learned, or disciples of the so much celebrated Confucius, who left many admirable precepts of morality, and instructed the people in philosophy. He speaks of God as a most pure and perfect principle, and the fountain and essence of all beings. Tho' we are told that he prohibited idolatry, he has temples and images erected to him, and is worshipped with the profoundest adoration, as appears from the pope's decree against the Jesuits, for indulging these converts in this idolatrous worship. (VII. 64–5)

1771 年 *Encyclopaedia Britannica; or, a dictionary of arts and sciences, compiled upon a new plan*, 3 vols., Edinburgh. 有名なブリタニカの初版である。

Confucius says in his *Kia yu*, that the princes who had governed the empire began at Fou hi to take the name of *Ti* or Emperor. The same philosopher says further, in the treatise *Hi-tsee*, or commentary upon the *Y-king*,

that anciently Fou hi governed China, that Chine nong succeeded him, that after them Hoang-ti, Yao, and Chune were seated on the throne. From so decisive a testimony, Hou-ou-sang, and several others with him, have not doubted, that these five princes named by Confucius were the Ou-ti, or five emperors. (II. 191)

1772 年 *The Chinese traveller*, 2 vols., London. 中国人が主人公になっている作品の一つ。しばしばイギリスを風刺するために利用された形式である。

Confucius wisely persuaded, that the people could never be happy, so long as avarice, ambition, voluptuousness, and false policy should reign in this manner, resolved to preach up a severe morality; and accordingly he began to enforce temperance, justice, and other virtues, to inspire a contempt of riches and outward pomp, to excite to magnanimity and a greatness of soul, which should make men incapable of dissimulation and insincerity; use all the means he could think of, to redeem his countrymen from a life of pleasure to a life of reason. He was every where known, and as much beloved. His extensive knowledge and great wisdom soon made him known: his integrity, and the splendor of his virtues made him beloved. Kings were governed by his counsels, and the people revered him as a saint. He was offered several high offices in the magistracy, which he sometimes accepted; but never from a motive of ambition, which he was not at all concerned to gratify, but always with a view of reforming a corrupt state, and amending mankind: for he never failed to resign those offices, as soon as he perceived that he could be no longer useful in them. (I. 4-5)

1774 年 Dodsley, Robert (1703-1764), *The economy of human life. Complete in two parts. Translated from an Indian manuscript written by an ancient Bramin. In a letter from an English gentleman residing at China, to the Earl of******, London. イギリスの出版業者で、詩、戯曲などの作品を残した。

The judgments and opinions of the Bonzees, and the

learned doctors, are very much divided concerning it. Those who admire it the most highly, are very fond of attributing it to Confucius, their own great philosopher; and get over the difficulty of its being written in the language and character of the ancient Brachmans, by supposing this to be only a translation, and that the original work of Confucius is lost. Some will have it to be the institutes of Lao-Kiun, another Chinese philosopher, contemporary with Confucius, and founder of the sect Taoossee; but these labour under the same difficulty, in regard to the language, with those who attribute it to Confucius. (xvii-xviii)

1774 年 Home Kames, Henry (1696-1782), *Sketches of the history of man*, 2 vols., Edinburgh. スコットランド出身で、裁判官であり、哲学者であった。

The religion of Confucius, professed by the *literati* and persons of rank in China and Tonquin, consists in a deep inward veneration for the God or King of heaven, and in the practice of every moral virtue. They have neither temples, nor priests, nor any settled form of external worship: every one adores the supreme Being in the manner he himself thinks best. This is indeed the most refined system of religion that ever took place among men. There is however an invincible objection against it (II. 403)

1775 年 Johnstone, Charles (1719?-1800?), *The pilgrim: or, a picture of life*, 2 vols., Dublin. ジョンストンは風刺小説家。

“But what was the opinion of Confutsee?” said he, “Which of these accounts did he admit? Or did he reject both, and substitute another of his own?”

I replied, that our great law-giver had never declared any opinion concerning matters of mere speculation, and which could be of no service to mankind to know, even if there was a possibility of knowing them with certainty.

“Barbarous ignorance!” said he, directing himself to his attendants, “matters of speculation of no service to mankind! As if any thing of vulgar use could be of equal

service with that which gives the amplest field for the display of human reason!" (I. 155)

1776 年 Gibbon, Edward (1737–1794), *The history of the decline and fall of the Roman empire*, vol. I, London. この頃, rise, progress, and...というタイトルの本がしばしば刊行された。このギボンの著作のタイトルは, rise, あるいは origin, progress という表現が無い点で, 特異であった。全 6 巻で構成され, 1776 年に第 1 巻, 1781 年に第 2 巻と 3 巻, 1788 年に第 4 巻から 6 巻までが刊行された。

Had Zoroaster, in all his institutions, invariably supported this exalted character, his name would deserve a place with those of Numa and Confucius, and his system would be justly entitled to all the applause, which it has pleased some of our Divines, and even some of our philosophers, to bestow on it. (I. 206) (Second ed.)

1776 年 Camoes, Luis de (1524–1580), *The Lusiad; or, the discovery of India*, Oxford. カモエンスは有名なポルトガルの国民的詩人。William Julius Mickle がつけた注は, 孔子に批判的である。

Confucius, who, according to their histories, had been in the West about 500 years before the Christian aera, appears to be only the confirmer of their old opinions; but the accounts of him and his doctrine are involved in uncertainty. In their places of worship however, boards are set up, inscribed, *This is the seat of the son of Confucius*, and to these and their ancestors they celebrate solemn sacrifices, without seeming to possess any idea of the intellectual existence of the departed mind. The Jesuit Ricci, and his brethren of the Chinese mission, *very honestly* told their converts, that *Tien* was the God of the Christians, and that the label of Confucius was the term by which they expressed his divine majesty. But after a long and severe scrutiny at the Court of Rome, *Tien* was found to signify nothing more than *heavenly or universal matter*, and the Jesuits of China were ordered to renounce this heresy. (470)

1776 年 Raynal, abbé (Guillaume–Thomas–François) (1713–1796), *A philosophical and political history of the settlements and trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, 4 vols., London. レイナールはフランスの歴史家。

CONFUCIUS, in whose actions and discourses precept was joined to example, and whose memory and doctrine are equally embraced and revered by all classes and sects whatsoever, was the founder of the national religion of China. His code contains a system of natural law, which ought to be the ground-work of all religions, the rule of society, and standard of all governments. He taught that reason was an emanation of the Deity; and that the supreme law consisted in the harmony between nature and reason. The religion that runs in opposition to these two guides of human life, does not come from heaven. (I. 99–100)

1779 年 Carver, Jonathan (1710–1780), *The new universal traveller*, London. これは「旅行家」が語る形式をとった作品で, 類書は少なくない。

Confucius is said to have composed many valuable books, yet extant, on the subjects of moral science, in which, however, he modestly acknowledged, that he had only collected into a body the scattered fragments of preceding legislators and philosophers. According to the most authentic account, he died at the age of seventy-three, of a lethargy, occasioned by sorrow for the obstructions he had experienced in his endeavours to reform the manners, and promote the happiness of mankind. His death was universally lamented in all the provinces of China, the inhabitants of which have ever since honoured him as a saint, and established such a veneration for his memory, as never before was attained by a philosopher in any other age or nation. (18)

1780 年 Hurd, William, *A new universal history of the religious rites*, London. ハードについては不詳。

The morals of the people of China, having been shockingly corrupted by the errors and blasphemies of these

impostors, a person arose to reform all the abuses that had crept in, whether relating to government, religion, morals or philosophy. This illustrious person was *Confucius*, a man, noble by birth, of a sweet, natural temper, and adorned by a liberal education. According to the best accounts, he was born about four hundred and fifty years before the incarnation of our Saviour, and we shall here relate what is said concerning him. (60)

1785 年 *The oriental chronicles of the times...supposed to have been written in the spirit of prophecy, By Confucius the Sage*, London. 孔子が書いたとタイトルで謳っているが、内容は中国とは関係なく、Charles James Fox 批判を意図している作品。

Here the words of the wife, and their sable sayings, as they are taken from their mouths by *Confucius*, the Chinese Scribe, although a stranger in Britain. (3-4)

1791 年 Boswell, James (1740-1795), *The life of Samuel Johnson, LL. D.*, 2 vols., London. ボズウェルは、この『ジョンソン伝』で有名になった。2 種類の初版がある。

MRS. KNOWLES. "Must we then go by implicit faith?" JOHNSON. "Why, Madam, the greatest part of our knowledge is implicit faith; and as to religion, have we heard all that a disciple of Confucius, all that a Mahometan can say for himself?" He then rose again into a passion, and attacked the young proselyte in the severest terms of reproach, so that both the ladies seemed to be much shocked. (II, 232)

1793 年 Maurice, Thomas (1754-1824), *Indian antiquities: or, dissertations*, Vol. 5, London. モーリスは東洋関係の歴史家。多くの著作がある。

Confucius, the noblest and most divine philosopher of the pagan world, was himself the innocent occasion of the introduction of the numerous and monstrous idols that in after-ages disgraced the temples of China; for, having in his dying moments encouraged his disconsolate disciples by prophesying Si Fam Yeu Xim Gin, in

occidente erit Sanctus, in the west the Holy One will appear (V. 31)

1794 年 Paine, Thomas (1737-1809), *The age of reason*, London. アメリカ独立、フランス革命などに関係したイギリス人。本書では、キリスト教を攻撃した。

Nothing that is here said can apply, even with the most distant disrespect, to the *real* character of Jesus Christ. He was a virtuous and an amiable man. The morality that he preached and practised was of the most benevolent kind; and though similar systems of morality had been preached by Confucius, and by some of the Greek philosophers, many years before; by the Quakers since; and by many good men in all ages; it has not been exceeded by any. (5)

1795 年 Pauw, Cornelius de (1739-1799) *Philosophical dissertations of the Egyptians and Chinese*, 2 vols., London. 中国人とエジプト人との関係を論じたもの。

According to some discoveries, the name of Confucius did not become very celebrated in China until about twelve hundred years after the reputed time of his birth. It was in the eighth century of our era, that the emperor *Hiventsong* gave him the name of *King of Letters*; but he lost that vain and bombastic title under the dynasty of *Ming*. (II, 194-5)

1796 年 *Miscellaneous works of Edward Gibbon, Esquire*, 2 vols, London.

Lord Sheffield が注をつけたギボンの回想録を含む。孔子は依然として敬意をもって扱われている。

The family of Confucius is, in my opinion, the most illustrious in the world. After a painful ascent of eight or ten centuries, our barons and princes of Europe are lost in the darkness of the middle ages; but, in the vast equality of the empire of China, the posterity of Confucius have maintained, above two thousand two hundred years, their peaceful honours and perpetual succession. The chief of the family is still revered, by the sovereign and the people, as the lively image of the wisest of mankind.

(I.3)

1797年 Staunton, George, Sir (1737–1801), *An authentic account of an embassy from the king of Great Britain to the emperor of China*, 3 vols., London. ストートンは、Lord Macartney と共に 1792 年にイギリス使節として中国に赴いた。

The temples of Pekin are not equal to its palaces. The religion of the Emperor is new in China, and its worship is performed with most magnificence in Tartary. The mandarines, the men of letters, from whom are selected the magistrates who goveern the empire, and possess the upper ranks of life, venerate rather than they adore Confucius; and meet to honour and celebrate his memory in halls of a simple but neat construction. (III, 119)

1799年 Zimmermann, Johann Georg (1728–1795), *Reflections on men and things*, London. スイスの著名な医学者。

Confucius said, as a man, he could not exclude himself from the society of men, and consort with beasts; that bad as the times were he could do all within his power to recal men to virtue, and if mankind would but once embrace it, and submit themselves to its discipline, and laws, they would neither want him, or any one else, to instruct them. (221)

1800年 Herder, Johann Gottfried (1744–1803), *Outlines of a philosophy of the history*, London. 中国と孔子を高く評価している。これは、翻訳であるが、18世紀末でも中国の高い評価は続いていたことを示す好例である。

The adherents of Confucius, of Laotsee and Fo, and even jews and jesuits, when received into the state, dwell together in peace. Their laws are unalterably founded on morals; their morals, on the sacred book of experience: their emperor is their sovereign pontif, the son of Heaven, the protector of ancient custom, the soul of the body politic pervading all it's members. (291)

孔子関係刊行物のチェックリスト

- 1598 Hakluyt, Richard The principal navigations, voyages, traffiqvs and discoveries of the English nation, 3 vols., London.
- 1613 Purchas, Samuel Pvrchas his pilgrimage. Or relations of the world and the religions observed in all ages and places discovered, London.
- 1614 Purchas, Samuel Pvrchas his pilgrimage. Or relations of the world and the religions observed in all, London.
- 1617 Purchas, Samuel Pvrchas his pilgrimage, or relations of the world and the religions observed in all ages and places discovered, London.
- 1625 Purchas, Samuel Pvrchas his pilgrimes. In five bookes, 5 vols., London.
- 1655 Samedo, Alvarez The history of that great and renowned monarch of China, London.
- 1667 Baxter, Richard The reasons of the Christian religion, London.
- 1669 Nieuhoff, John An embassy from the East-India Company...Peter de Goyer, London.
- 1669 Webb, John An historical essay endeavoring a probability that the language of the empire of China, London.
- 1671 Montanus, Arnoldus Atlas Chinensis: being a second part of a relation of remarkable passages in two embassies, London.
- 1688 Bohun, Edward A geographical dictionary, London.
- 1688 Magaillans, Gabriel A new history of China, London.
- 1690 Temple, William, Sir An essay upon the ancient and modern
- 1690 Temple, William, Sir Of heroic virtue
- 1691 The morals of Confucius, a Chinese
- 1694 Moreri, Louis The great historical, geographical and poetical dictionary; being a curious miscellany of sacred, London.
- 1694 Wotton, William Reflections on ancient and modern learning, London.
- 1695 Turner, William The history of all religions in the world, London.
- 1697 Le Comte, Louis Memoirs and observations topographical, physical, mathematical, mechanical, natural, civil, London.
- 1700 Tate, Nahum Panacea: a poem upon tea, London.
- 1701 Memoirs of literature. Containing a weekly account of the state both at home and abroad, 4 vols., London.
- 1701 Daniel, Gabrie. The discourses of Cleander and Eudoxus upon Provincial letters, Saint-Omer, Cullen.
- 1702 Tate, Nahum A poem upon tea, London.
- 1703 A short account of the declaration, given by the Chinese Emperor, London.
- 1703 Paxton, Peter Civil polity, London.
- 1704 Churchill, Awnsham and John A collection of voyages and travels, some now first printed from original manuscripts, 4 vols., London.
- 1705 An introduction to the history of the kingdoms and states of Asia, London.
- 1705 Harris, John Navigantium atque itinerantium bibliotheca: or, a compleat collection of voyages and travels, 2 vols., London.
- 1705 Hooke, Robert The posthumous works of Robert Hooke, London.
- 1705 Rowe, Nicholas The biter, London.
- 1705 Spinckes, Nathaniel The essay towards a proposal for Catholick, London.
- 1706 Confucius The morals of Confucius a Chinese philosopher, London.
- 1706 Ides, Evert Ysbrants Three years travels from Moscow over-land, London.
- 1708 An historical, genealogical and poetical dictionary, London, 2nd ed.
- 1708 Jenkin, Robert The reasonableness and certainty, London.
- 1708 Le Guat, Francolis A new voyage to the East-Indies, London.
- 1708 Mackenzie, George The lives and characters, Edinburgh.
- 1709 A true account of the present state of Christianity in China, London.
- 1710 Memoirs for Rome...Pope Clement XI, London.
- 1710 Pufendorf, Samuel, Freiherr von Of the law of nature and nations, London.

- 1711 Post-Man (4 Oct. 1711)
 1711 The spectator, London.
 1713 Du Pin, Louis Ellies A compendious history of the church, London.
 1713 Edwards, John A supplement to the animadversions, London.
 1713 Mackenzie, George, Sir Essays upon several moral subjects, London.
 1714 The guardian, no 96, London.
 1714 The thousand and one days; Peresian tales, London.
 1715 Pope, Alexander Temple of fame (line 107), London.
 1716 Mackenzie, George, Sir The works of the eminent and learned George MacKenzie, Edinburgh.
 1716 Pope, Alexander An essay on criticism, London.
 1717 Sykes, Arthur Ashley A third letter to the Reverend Dr. Sherlock, London.
 1718 Ziegenbalg, Gartholomaeus Propagation of the Gospel, London.
 1719 Gildon, Charles The life and strange surprising adventures, Dublin.
 1719 Gordon, James Popery against Christianity, London.
 1720 Defoe, Daniel Serious reflections during the life &
 1721 Addison, Joseph The works of the Right Honourable Joseph Addison, 4 vols., London.
 1721 Bernard, Jacques An appendix to the three English volumes...Morery's great historical, London.
 1722 Blackmore, Richard, Sir Redemption: a divine poem, London.
 1722 Paschoud, Reverend Mr Historico-political geography, London.
 1722 Weber, Friedrich Christian The present state of Russia, London.
 1723 Dictionarium sacrum seu...a dictionary, London, 2nd ed.
 1723 Lange, Lorenze The present state of Russia, 2 vols., London.
 1723 Millar, Robert The history of the propagation of Christianity, London, 2nd ed.
 1724 Burnet, Gilbert An abridgment of Bishop Burnet's history, London.
 1724 Burnet, Gilbert The history of his own time, I, London.
 1724 Du Pin, Louis Ellies The history of the Church, London, 3rd ed.
 1724 Salmon, Thomas An impartial examination of Bishop Burnet's history, 2 vols., London.
 1725 Du Pin, Luois Ellies A new ecclesiastical history of the seventeenth century, Oxford.
 1725 Thompson, Thomas The glorious truth of universal grace, London.
 1726 Defoe, Daniel The political history of the Devil, London.
 1726 Millar, Robert, M. A. The history of the propagation of Christianity, 2 vols., Edinburgh.
 1727 Hamilton, Alexander A new account of the East Indies, Edinburgh.
 1727 Kaempfer, Engelbert The history of Japan, 2 vols., London.
 1727 Lay-man Christianity and free-thinking, Edinburgh.
 1728 Gullivers decypher'd, London, 2nd ed.
 1728 Defoe, Daniel A system of magick; or, a history of the black art, London.
 1728 Knight, Robert The nature and obligation of relative holiness, York.
 1728 Member of the Athenian Society The Athenian oracle, London, 3rd ed.
 1728 Saint-Evremond The works of Monsieur de St. Evremond, London, 2nd ed.
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